## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

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NODIS

FOR USDEL SECRETARY PARTY BONN

FOR SONNENFELDT FROM SHERER

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: TURKISH PROBLEMS

## 1. FOLLOWING ARE CURRENT SPECIAL TURKISH PROBLEMS IN CSCE

A. MALTESE AMENDMENT -- MALTESE AMENDMENT ON "REDUCING MILITARY FORCES" IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION IS READ BY THE TURKS AS PARTLY DIRECTED AGAINST THEM, IN PARTICULAR IN CYPRUS CONTEXT. TURKISH DELEGATION RECEIVED TELEPHONE INSTRUCTIONS JULY 10 TO FIRMLY OPPOSE MALTESE AMENDMENT, AND APPEALED TO US FOR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR PROBLEM. IF FRG CAN HEAD OFF MALTESE AMENDMENT, THIS TURKISH PROBLEM WILL DISAPPEAR. (FRENCH POSITION ON THIS ISSUE MAY BE KEY, AND WE WOULD RECOMMEND DIRECT CONTACT WITH SAUVAGNARGUES.) OTHERWISE IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO MAKE A COUNTER-PROPOSAL TO MINTOFF. BEST CHANNEL FOR THIS MAY BE ROMANIAN FONMIN MACOVESCU, WHO HAS TAKEN ON AN INTERMEDIARY ROLE. USDEL IDEA FOR A COUNTER-PROPOSAL, WHICH WE HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT DISCUSSED OUTSIDE THE DELEGATION, IS "PROMOTING ARMS REDUCTION EFFORTS IN THE REGION".

B. AREA EXCEPTION FOR MANEUVER CBM -- TURKS WANT A FRONTIER ZONE OF 100 KM (150 KM FALLBACK) FOR AREA OF NOTIFICATION FOR MANEUVER SECRET

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CBM. THEY ALSO WANT EXEMPTION FOR FRONTIERS WITH NON-PARTICIPAT-

ING STATES (IRAQ, SYRIA, IRAN), AND FOR PORTS FACING CYPRUS. LATTER DEMANDS HAVE BEEN MET, BUT 100 KM BORDER ZONE IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT BECAUSE SOVIETS SAY THEY WILL INSIST ON AN EQUAL ZONE, THUS UNDERCUTTING ALLIED EFFORTS TO GET PRESENT 250 KM COMMITMENT FROM SOVIETS. TURKS CLAIM CENTRAL ANATOLIA IS A "SANCTUARY" AND THEY CANNOT NOTIFY MANEUVERS THERE. WE BELIEVE ONLY FEASIBLE SOLUTION AT THIS POINT IS TO CONVINCE THE TURKS TO YIELD ON THIS ISSUE. FRG DEMARCHE WITH TURKISH CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, AND ALLIED DEMARCHES IN ANKARA, HAVE EVIDENTLY HAD SOME EFFECT, AND TURKS ARE NOW RECONSIDERING THEIR POSITION. IF THEY DO NOT GIVE UP ON THIS QUESTION, WE COULD CONSIDER TRYING TO TRADE-OFF A CONCESSION ON INDEPENDENT AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE MANEUVERS (SEE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH) IN EXCHANGE FOR THE TURKS JOING CONSENSUS ON AREA.

C. SUB-THRESHOLD FOR AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE MANEUVERS -- TURKS PROPOSED ON JULY 8 A SPECIAL LOWER THRESHOLD (TWO BRIGADES, WHICH THEY DEFINE AS 4,000 TROOPS) FOR AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE MANEUVERS, BASED ON THEIR FEAR THAT A TWO BRIGADE AMPHIBIOUS ATTACK COULD GAIN CONTROL OF THE BOSPHORUS STRAITS. THIS PROVOKED ANGRY RE-ACTION FROM SOVIETS, AND NATO ALLIES BELIEVE TURKISH PROPOSAL IS NON-NEGOTIABLE. WE HAVE PROPOSED TO DEPARTMENT THAT A RELATIVELY HARMLESS WAY TO ASSIST GENERAL EFFORT TO BRING TURKS AROUND ON THIS POINT WOULD BE TO AGREE TO NOTIFICATION OF INDEPENDENT AMPHI-BIOUS AND AIRBORNE MANEUVERS OVER REGULAR THRESHOLD OF 25,000 TROOPS, BUT DEPARTMENT HAS REFUSED THIS REQUEST (STATE 163449 OF JULY 11). WE STILL BELIEVE AUTHORIZATION TO AGREE TO NOTIFICA-TION OF SUCH MANEUVERS WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE DETRIMENTAL TO US INTERESTS, AND THAT IT MAY BE ONLY POINT ON WHICH WE CAN OFFER SOME FLEXIBILITY TO TURKS IN ORDER TO BRING THEM TO JOIN OVERALL CONFERENCE CONSENSUS AND AGREE TO CONVENING OF STATE III.

D. CYPRIOT REPRESENTATION AT STAGE III -- TURKS VEHEMENTLY OPPOSE PRESENCE OF MAKARIOS AT STAGE III, AND HAVE MADE DEMARCHES FAVORING SOME FORM OF JOINT GREEK-TURKISH CYPRIOT REPRESENTATION. ON DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS WE HAVE GENTLY BUT FIRMLY DISCOURAGED THE TURKS FROM PURSUING THIS LINE, ON GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE AND WOULD FORCE ALL CSCE PARTICIPATING STATES TO REITERATE THEIR RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS REGIME AS ONLY LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. TURKS HAVE LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THIS SECRET

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ARGUMENTATION, AND HAVE CEASED TALKING ABOUT CYPRUS ISSUE. TURK-ISH DELEGATION HEAD RECENTLY TOLD US HE THOUGHT MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM FOR TURKS WERE IN MILITARY FIELD, AND THAT CYPRUS PROBLEM "COULD BE RESOLVED". FROM THIS WE HAVE INFERRED THAT TURKS ARE PREPARED TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE ON THE ISSUE, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE SAID NOTHING CONCRETE AND CONTINUE TO ALLUDE TO "UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS". WE BELIEVE ONLY POSSIBLE COURSE IN THIS SITUATION IS TO CONTINUE TO DISCOURAGE THE TURKS FROM OBJECTING TO MAKARIOS. IF

CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE SOME GESTURE TOWARD TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY WITH REGARD TO PARTICIPATION AT STAGE III (SUCH AS INCLUSION OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN CYPRIOT DELEGATION, AND CLEARANCE OF MAKARIOS' SPEECH) WE BELIEVE THIS PROBLEM WOULD BE RESOLVED.

2. WE UNDERSTAND HARTMAN IS SEEING TURKISH AMBASSADOR ON MONDAY, JULY 14, AND ARE ALSO TRANSMITTING SUBSTANCE OF THIS TELEGRAM DIRECT TO HIM IN A SEPARATE EXDIS CABLE. DALE

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: ARMED FORCES, CAT-B, MILITARY PLANS, MILITARY EXERCISES, STAGE III

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 12 JUL 1975 Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA05472

Document Number: 1975GENEVA05472
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Film Number: N750002-0057

From: GENEVA

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 2

Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750761/aaaaccfd.tel Line Count: 123 Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM Office: ACTION NODS **Original Classification: SECRET** Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3

Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET **Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS** Reference: n/a Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Authority: ElyME

Review Content Flags: Review Date: 04 JUN 2003

**Review Event:** 

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 JUN 2003 by KelleyW0>; APPROVED <17 OCT 2003 by ElyME>

**Review Markings:** 

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JÚL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:** Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: LOCK1 Status: NATIVE

Subject: CSCE: TURKISH PROBLEMS TAGS: PFOR, XG, CY, CSCE To: STATE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006